

the High Command, looked on them with suspicion. Indeed, they did not realize that the soldiers had manned their committees with the best men in their ranks, the best educated, most mature politically, most patriotic. Even in rear garrisons, as in Petrograd, the first regimental committees were made up almost wholly of responsible persons. In the active army, the moral level of soldiers' representatives was still higher. Indeed, the elected committees were the backbone of the revolutionary army. They kept the army from disintegrating and could have done much more to restore its military spirit if they had been supported by the commanding personnel. Unfortunately, few officers and only very few representatives of top brass grasped the situation. The men at the top of the military hierarchy were convinced that if they could get rid of the committees, and if the government could restore their disciplinary power, all problems of the army would be solved readily.

The situation in the Petrograd garrison was getting worse each week. The soldiers naturally disliked the idea of going to the front and preferred to stay in the capital and guard the conquests of the revolution. It was easy to understand this attitude, but I felt that my sympathy with the men in the Petrograd garrison was waning. After the May days, I became increasingly tired of my job as a trouble-shooter in the barracks. I wanted to learn more about the men in the trenches and their problems. The first practical problem of revolutionary life in the trenches that presented itself to me was fraternization.

#### FRATERNIZATION

I do not know when and where the term "fraternization" was coined. It was used occasionally in left-wing Socialist literature before the revolution to describe friendly meetings of soldiers of two belligerent countries in the zone between the trenches. Such meetings have occurred at all times. Tolstoy described them in his stories of the defense of Sebastopol. During the Russian revolution they took a particular slant when the Communists attempted to use them on a large scale in their drive to power through world revolution.

Fraternization with the enemy was first reported at the conference of soldiers' deputies of the Central Front, in Minsk, at the end of April. Russian and German soldiers, it was said, met in crowds in a neutral zone. The Russians shouted to the Germans, "Go home, we'll not hurt you!" The Germans shouted, "Don't fire! We'll do you no harm!" Small gifts were exchanged: Russian bread and tobacco for German cigarette lighters.

The problem of fraternization with the enemy confronted the Ex-